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July 27, 1918

THE Woman Citizen

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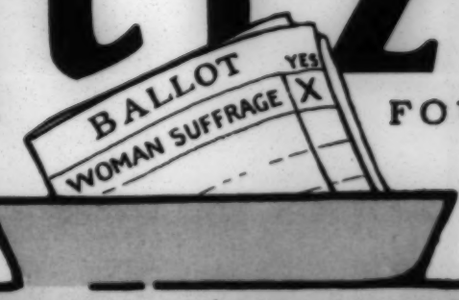

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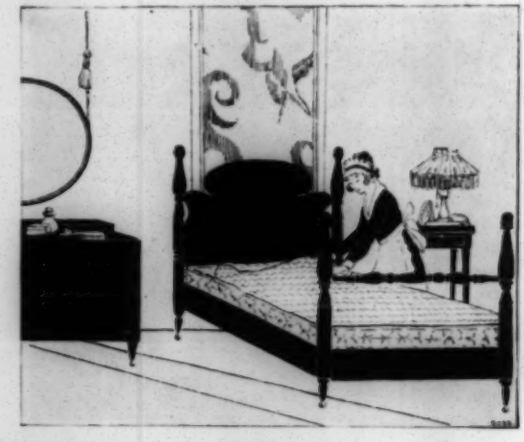

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THE WOMAN CITIZEN

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VOL. III JULY 27, 1918 No. 9

PUBLISHED by the Woman Citizen Corporation, in the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress.

The directors of the Corporation are Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Miss Mary Garrett Hay, Mrs. Thomas Bucklin Wells, and Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore.

Alice Stone Blackwell is a special contributing editor.

Rose Young is the editor-in-chief.

Mary Ogden White, Mary Sumner Boyd, and Rose Lawless Geyer are associate editors.

Our Circulation Story

THE state conventions of the two great political parties indicate that the politicians are devoting a considerable portion of the summer season to the business of helping to send the Federal Suffrage Amendment across the line in the Sixty-fifth Congress after the recess.

One convention after another has adopted a Federal Amendment plank calling upon the Senate to submit the Amendment to the states for ratification as speedily as possible. New York, Iowa and Arkansas have been added to the already long list of states endorsing the Amendment within the last few days, and many other states will have taken similar action before the end of the convention season.

These federal suffrage planks in political platforms are summer harbingers of victory for the women of America. Before many weeks, apparently, ratification campaigns will be in full swing and then, more than ever, will the need of proper ammunition be felt. Every subscription to the *Woman Citizen* means an addition to the offensive strength of the cause now gathering its forces for the last great drive.

Each day's mail indicates an increasing appreciation of the practical value of the *Citizen* in such a campaign as the one drawing nearer every day.

"I couldn't live without the *Citizen*—I need never be urged to renew my subscription," writes Mrs. H. G. Teson of Pittsburgh.

And Henrietta Osborne Crane writes from Ocean Grove, New Jersey: "I very much admire and enjoy the *Woman Citizen*."

The indomitable spirit of the pioneer suffragist stands forth in a letter from Ellen M. Bolles, who, though 71 years of age, discharges the dutes of postmistress at Lumberton, New Mexico.

"I could not get along without the *Woman Citizen*, and shall take it as long as I have a dollar to pay for it," runs the letter, and she rejoices in "the emancipation of the masses—including women"—destined to come out of this world struggle.

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National Circulation Chairman.

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1. A pledge will constitute an entry.
2. No entries will be accepted after December 1, 1918.
3. Contest closes January 1, 1919.
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To the County Association that sends in the highest number over 100 (paid new subscribers). These would come through the State Association, and would help to swell the state's total.

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To the Local Club that sends in the highest number over 100 (paid new subscribers). These would come through the County Association into the State Association, and thence to the *Woman Citizen*.

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July 13th	*July 20th*
1. Georgia.	1. Georgia
2. South Dakota.	2. South Dakota
3. Indiana.	3. Indiana
4. Iowa.	4. Iowa
5. Michigan.	5. Michigan
6. Minnesota.	6. Minnesota
7. New Jersey.	7. New Jersey
8. Massachusetts.	8. New York
9. New York.	9. Massachusetts
10. Ohio.	10. Wisconsin
11. Wisconsin.	11. Ohio
12. New Hampshire.	12. New Hampshire
13. Missouri, Virginia.	13. Missouri, Virginia
14. Alabama.	14. Alabama
15. Texas.	15. Texas
16. Maryland.	16. Maryland
17. Pennsylvania.	17. Pennsylvania
18. Maine.	18. Maine
19. Louisiana.	19. Louisiana
20. Connecticut.	20. Connecticut
21. West Virginia.	21. West Virginia
22. South Carolina, Kentucky	22. South Carolina, Kentucky
23. Tennessee.	23. Tennessee, Arkansas
24. Washington, D. C., Arkansas.	24. Washington, D. C.
25. North Dakota.	25. North Dakota
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A Journal of Democracy

July 27, 1918

"We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts — for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

Under Which Banner?

FOR some months previous to the special day for registering New York women in order to permit them to vote in the primaries (the men having been registered previously), a sweet-tempered but serious-minded controversy stirred the ranks of suffragists from Buffalo to Montauk Point. The suffragists of New York are pledged to the Federal Suffrage Amendment and to the use of their votes to see it through to its ratification by the last state. It has not yet passed the Senate and a minority in both parties represented in that body have manifested an incomprehensible hostility to its passage. It is clear, too, that, since New York state has enfranchised its women by over 103,000 majority, and since the legislature of the state has passed a resolution calling upon the two Republican senators to support the amendment, and the Republican National Committee and most of the Republican County Committees have endorsed the amendment, the women have the right to expect the support of their senators. Senator Calder gave aid to the campaign within the state, and has right royally supported the Federal Suffrage Amendment campaign, but Senator Wadsworth is one of three men at whose door lies the entire responsibility of delay in the Senate.

New York has much territory which is practically one-party Republican, and other territory which is one-party Democratic in politics. Senator Wadsworth's part of the state is Republican. Under his direct influence it defeated suffrage in 1915 and again in 1917. The two congressmen representing that part of the state voted against the Federal Suffrage Amendment in the House and Senator Wadsworth has led the obstruction campaign against the Amendment in the Senate. That the women of New York have the vote is due to sections of the state over which he has no especial influence. He cost the women of the state two additional years of slavish self-sacrificing campaign work and hundreds of thousands of dollars. He is now costing the women of the nation thousands of dollars because of the delay which he alone has caused. Naturally many New York women are embittered by these facts. Women normally Republican in politics and residing in Republican territory, or neutral women qualified to choose a party, hesitated to enroll themselves in the party of Wadsworth.

On the other hand the narrow-minded provincial opposition of the Democratic minority chiefly from the so-called solid South has made Democratic women and neutral women unwilling to enroll with the Democrats whose enjoyment of a control of House and Senate puts the main chairmanship into the hands of these anti-suffragists.

One group of suffragists therefore is holding that until the Federal Suffrage Amendment is ratified women should remain non-partisan and throw their votes where they will be of most help to the nation-wide campaign, but another, led by Miss Hay, contends that the influence of women would be greater within the party than out of it, that women should give to the country the best service they can render at this time of its great stress, while not forgetting their objective of enfranchising the women of the nation by federal amendment. As a result of the controversy about half the New York women who will probably vote at the coming election enrolled in the primaries. (679,000.)

The leaders of all political parties have watched this controversy with deep and understanding interest and are fully aware of the tremendous influence upon the destiny of New York politics which will be wielded by the women whose affiliations with political parties are not yet made, as well as by those already enrolled.

Women Voters and Party Alignment

EVER since the big pro-suffrage majority was piled up in the Empire State last November, anxious conjecture and forecast have done their best to tease from the future the answer to the question, "What strength will the women's vote add to the Republicans, what to the Democrats, what to the Socialists, and what to the Prohibitionists?"

During the first months after the great November victory it was stylish in all our best political circles to stress the help given by each party in New York State—according to which party you wanted women to remember next November.

But, alas, for politicians! By the time the women's enrollment dates had rolled around, claims to consideration on account of the state victory had been swallowed up in claims to consideration on account of the federal suffrage situation. New York women were manifestly on the lookout—and Washington was what they were looking out at.

Of the two chief parties the New York Republicans have had to prop their hopes of the women's alignment, a showing far superior to that of the Democrats in the struggle in Congress to secure nation-wide suffrage to women.

To help hold the balance, Democrats pointed to President Wilson's work for the amendment—a telling gesture that immediately

lost in force because the President, do what he would, was not able to prevail against certain hoary prejudices and traditions that weight his party mill-stone wise.

It is the enrollment itself that has brought these more or less painful cogitations to a close. Authoritative figures at last available in the official enrollment returns, lend weight to the insistence of the Republicans that their support of the Federal Suffrage Amendment was sure to be a determining factor in the party alignment of the new women voters.

Of the 679,618 women who used the very limited opportunity afforded to become affiliated with a party, 375,093 went into the Republican fold, as against 247,676 who enrolled as Democrats. Moreover, women form a larger proportion of the entire Republican state enrollment than of the Democratic.

It did not need the New York line-up to prove that nation-wide suffrage has grown vastly in significance to women voters during recent months and to indicate that party as well as individual record on the Federal Suffrage Amendment will be closely watched by the women between now and the November elections. Women are prone to get at fundamentals and to their crude minds the right of self-government is fundamental to the choice of representatives to do the governing. Their alignments may therefore be expected more and more to reflect their interest in the fortunes of the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

Relative Party Gains

ONE revealment in the ruthless figures of the New York superintendent of elections must make bitter reading, indeed, to the opponents of woman suffrage. According to their forecasts, women of the "old-line" parties, Republican and Democratic women, would remember that woman's place is in the home, and stay there on election days, while the wives and sisters and mothers of the Socialist men would pour forth to the polls by the thousands. Be driven to the polls rather. For Socialist women, quoth the antis, would but do the bidding of Socialist men. So that to give votes to Socialist women would be to double the Socialist vote, without any compensatory addition to the ranks of the Democrats and the Republicans. Thus the antis in accents wild.

And now the New York enrollment figures in their cold and cruel realism! Whereas, women have added 50 per cent, half as much again, to the registered Republican strength in New York, and 40 per cent, or two-fifths, to the Democratic, they have added but 20 per cent, one-fifth, to the former Socialist strength!

Just how the New York *Times*, semi-official organ of the Wadsworthians, and Mrs. Wadsworth are to survive this shock, must be a matter of some concern to the little group about them.

It is interesting to note in this connection that a comparison of the relative contributions to the Socialist strength made by men and by women shows that if votes are to be withheld from a sex because of its superior propensity for voting the Socialist ticket, the franchise must be taken from men, as between three and four times as many men as women will vote the Socialist ticket in New York. It is also noteworthy, in view of the antis' one-time contention that it was the Socialist vote that carried New York for suffrage, that the entire Socialist vote registered for the 1917 elections, 67,665, could have tumbled into East River, and suffrage would still have carried in New York by 35,000 majority.

Those Opposed

TO the antis, who make quite a fad of leaving dead people on their lists of "those opposed," there wasn't anything funny in the situation when Senator Brandegee of Connecticut got up in the United States Senate on June 27th, and had read into the Record a communication that voiced a long-winded protest against woman suffrage. It was noticeable that during the clerk's reading of the communication Mrs. Wadsworth and Mrs. Wadsworth's husband looked summarily convinced. And, handled as it was, the communication really sounded like a protest from a group of people who, though backward, were at least still alive.

All the more interesting the fact that it was from an organization that was defunct, with a president who had been for some time dead!

The organization, which had known itself as the American Constitutional League, had solemnly announced its own demise to the press some weeks before. On our desk at the moment lies a letter from the "League" addressed to a metropolitan city editor, dated June 4, which reads as follows:

"Mr. Everett P. Wheeler, who is now out of town, has requested me to send you a brief statement for publication, announcing the termination of the affairs of the American Constitutional League.

"The American Constitutional League, as you will recall, has been working against the Federal Suffrage Amendment for the last few weeks on the ground that its passage would be a violation of the Constitutional principle of States rights. For adequate reasons it is now terminating its affairs, and I should appreciate very much if you would make the announcement of this fact in your columns."

"For obvious reasons" opposition to suffrage is very generally terminating its affairs, and can be allowed to do so without obituary or requiem. It does seem a pity, however, that the Senate's time and the Record's perfectly good white paper should be consumed with ghostly wailings from the dead. A great many dead people and dead organizations were opposed to suffrage, just as they were opposed to railroads and flying machines and public schools. But today is not yesterday and what suited the dead does not suit the living. Woman suffrage belongs to the present, not to the past, and precarious as is our opinion of some United States Senators, the Senate itself is too dignified an institution to be flouted by appeals from defunct organizations camouflaged as still alive and entitled to consideration.

"There are those who bury themselves in the past," says one of the authoritative writers on the world's war, "there are those who bury themselves in the past, on whose lips are the sayings only of bygone days, the traditionalists for whom an injustice has legal

force because it is perpetuated, who aspire to be guided by the dead."

Let us hope that against the United States Senate such a charge cannot much longer lie.

Why Arkansas Will Ratify

SENATOR J. T. ROBINSON, of Arkansas and the United States Senate, has summed up Arkansas' experience with suffrage tersely. As an illustration of how rapidly public sentiment has grown on this question, he points to the fact that the women of Arkansas cast their first ballot in the Arkansas primary election a few weeks ago.

"Up to that time, I confess, there was a good deal of doubt and a good many open questions in the matter," he continues, "but today I do not believe there are a hundred men of even average intelligence in the state who do not heartily endorse the principle of woman suffrage, and realize that the women want the ballot, and that they voted even more wisely than did the men. They gave honest thought to their votes, and the best women of the state went at the matter as a duty they owed and a privilege they had long desired.

"Arkansas will ratify the Federal Suffrage Amendment with pleasure and without a mental reservation."

Echoes from the Past

A CERTAIN Senator has been accustomed whenever the subject of woman suffrage is mentioned to present in person or by mail a reprint from the *Congressional Record* of an article which he himself caused to have read into it. More, he is so excited over the subject that when his caller comes upon some other errand and does not mention woman suffrage, he does it himself in order to present his views.

The pamphlet was printed in the *Southern Review* in 1871, forty-seven years ago, and seems to have been a standard opposition document ever since. It has been read into the *Congressional Record* more than once, the last time in 1913. Its every line represents a period so long past that it has been forgotten by the majority of folk; but it becomes significant in our own day for two reasons.

First, it undoubtedly reflects sentiments practically universal when written and therefore sets up a milestone by which to measure the world's onward progress during these forty-seven years.

Second, it presents the phenomenon of minds which have stopped in their normal operations and, unobservant of changed conditions, repeat parrotlike sentiments common in early youth.

The astonishing comment of the Senator upon this reprint from the *Record* is that "it is even more pertinent at the present time than when Dr. Bledsoe first gave it to the public." He assures friends and foes that Dr. Bledsoe's sentiments are his. A few quotations taken at random will convey some idea of what these sentiments are:

"The root of all this mischief is the idea that woman is the equal of man. . . . She is neither equal nor superior nor inferior to man. She was made for a different sphere, and in her own sphere she is without a peer or rival. 'One star is different from another star in glory.' . . . Let not the sphere of woman, then, be confounded with that of man, and let not her soul be unsexed to do the work of man; unless, indeed, it be our object to subvert the order of nature, to 'uproar the universal peace and pour the sweet milk of concord into hell.'

"Ah! ye strong-minded women, how ye must hate these words —'being in subjection unto their husbands!' Have you no husbands because you hate these words? Or do you hate these words because you have no husbands? Have you no husbands because the old-fashioned forms require you to 'Love, honor, and obey,' or because nobody has asked you? . . . Woman is sometimes contemptuously called 'the inferior animal.' . . . 'Yes, that is precisely our opinion of the sex—inferior animals but superior beings. In brute force, in all that constitutes the mere animal frame and nature, women are inferior to men; but in purity of mind, in refinement of sentiment, in all that most nearly assimilates our race to the good angels above, they are superior to men. . . . We can not deny, however, that although woman is the 'superior being,' she is the 'weaker vessel,' for such is the express declaration of the Word of God. She is evidently the 'weaker vessel.' The frailer form, the more delicate organs, the more sensitive and timid nature, all proclaim her 'the weaker vessel.' Above all, the ease with which the balance of her judgment is disturbed by the impulses of kindness or of cruelty show that she is 'the weaker vessel.' While man, during the Civil War, displayed his strength by the greatness and the heroism of his deeds, woman betrayed her weakness by the violence of her sentiments. She would have raised the black flag and caused it to wave in all the darkness of desolation over the heads of her enemies even while she was the ministering angel of mercy to her friends. It is the weakness of human nature, and especially in the female sex, that it is always prone to rush into extremes of both hate and love.

"There are, we are sorry to say, some of the sweetest and most intelligent and most lovely young ladies in our land who seem favorably inclined toward the woman's rights movement. We would do anything to save them, except marry a strong-minded woman; and if we were a widower we fear we might be induced to do even that, in order to rescue the beautiful creatures from their perilous condition."—C. C. C.

The Modern Note

IT would be strange indeed if after all the sacrifices that women have made and are making for the triumph of democracy on a world scale they should be denied the equal rights without which real democracy, here or anywhere, is impossible.—*Times*, Bedford, Mass.

TEXAS women voters are smashing records. The latest word from the state suffrage president is that the first report of the women's enrollment of 360,000 for this week's primaries, which seemed unbelievably high, was incomplete. The figures on July 20 were 386,000, with a possible 400,000 in sight. This is more than Texas men's presidential vote.

Their First Convention

THE Republican State Conference, held for the purpose of drafting a platform, took place at Saratoga, July 18th and 19th. The Democratic Conference was held for the same purpose at the same place July 23rd.* The Republicans treated the women voters with cordial hospitality and with keen appreciation of the fact that there is a large new electorate whose party affiliations have yet to be fixed.

The vast Convention hall at Saratoga is familiar campaign ground to suffragists. Most political conventions for the past generation have been held there and for twenty-five years bands of representative women citizens of the State have appealed to platform committees for political liberty and in the gallery have listened to grandiloquent orations and to platforms in which such expressions as "government by consent," "equal rights for all, special privileges for none," "free and equal," ad infinitum, have been hailed with boisterous partisan applause without the slightest evidence appearing to indicate that a single delegate sensed an inconsistency between declaration and realization in fact.

For the first time last week women were permitted to be a real part of it all. Over a hundred women delegates, fairly representative of all sections of the state, were seated, and they were almost entirely drawn from the army of women who had so heroically striven to secure the ballot. One suffrage worker said she had to pinch herself occasionally that she might realize that she was at last within the one-time forbidden sphere instead of a suppliant still at the portals.

Mrs. Edwin Danforth, wife of ex-Congressman Danforth, was appointed chairman of the committee to escort Hon. J. Sloat Fassett, temporary chairman, to the platform. Mrs. Florence Knapp was appointed to the credentials committee and several women were appointed honorary vice-presidents and secretaries, but the big honor fell to Miss Mary Garrett Hay, Chairman of the Woman Suffrage Party of the City of New York, who was made Chairman of the Platform Committee, a distinction which next to the Chairmanship is the highest in the gift of a political convention.

Heretofore this honor has been bestowed upon acknowledged leaders of parties or old "war horses" whose years of party service have given repeated tests of party fealty. It is safe to say that so responsible a post and so distinguished an honor were never before offered to an untried person and probably no other woman ever held the position in any State.

THE plan to make Miss Hay Chairman of the Platform Committee was not prearranged, but is reported to have been proposed, in one of the early caucuses at Saratoga, by a one-time bitter anti-suffragist. It is certain that the proposal did not come from women. From the caucus the rumor spread among the gathering delegates. Like a bolt from the blue it fell upon friends and foes of woman suffrage. One long-time woman hater was heard to mutter, "outrageous, impossible, it must not be permitted," while another such merely uttered a despairing "My God!"

Even the friends of suffrage questioned the wisdom of the movement. Of the fifty-one members composing the Committee, there would be many who not only were unreconstructed antis but were adepts at parliamentary tricks whereby leaders of minorities at times trip up unskilled chairmen and get their way. Could a woman hold such a committee down to its work? Would a resentful minority display mob character and in order to flout the chairman prevent any business being done? If a platform could really be drafted by the committee with such a chairman, could a woman read it, so that it could be heard by the thousand delegates in the far reaches of Saratoga's vast convention hall? These were questions passed from group to group, but the proposal gained ground from moment to moment.

Miss Hay had been appointed a member of the Platform Committee by the 18th Senatorial District and at the first meeting of the Committee she was nominated by Mr. Sam Koenig, Chairman of New York County, and was elected unanimously. Among the members were Senator Wadsworth, Nicholas Murray Butler, Elon Brown, William Barnes, ex-Governor Horace White and others whose imagination had never visualized a woman member of a Republican platform committee, much less a chairman of one. Two other women members served on the Committee—Miss Mary Wood of New York and Mrs. Mary Schwiedendorff of Buffalo.

A member of the committee, still harboring a little doubt, said to Miss Hay hesitatingly, "You know, Miss Hay, it may mean sitting up all night. That often happens." "Oh," responded Miss Hay, "I've sat up all night at the door of so many platform committees, hoping for a suffrage resolution, that that is one thing I shall not mind in the least."

THE committee did sit till three o'clock in the morning and met again at nine A. M. and was ready to report at the time ordered by the convention, eleven A. M.

Experienced members of the Committee declared that they had never seen a chairman make quicker decisions or fairer rulings. Those who enjoy odd incidents found amusement in the "I rise to a question of parliamentary procedure," frequently put to the Chairman by Senator Wadsworth. Apparently the anti-suffragists bore themselves with more resignation than was expected, and as a whole the men friends of suffrage were enthusiastic over the experiment and glad and happy that they had been part of the movement that had made it possible; while the former foes of suffrage gave evidence of finding work with women not half so terrifying as they feared.

When Miss Hay appeared on time with the platform in her hand, she was received by a standing audience and tumultous applause, continuing without a lull, *a la* favorite candidate, for several minutes. Her first clear sentence, resounding throughout the hall announced that she brought a unanimous report, and that aroused another salvo of applause. It was known that the platform would contain a plank on behalf of the Federal Suffrage Amendment, and that the group of anti suffragists would bring in a minority report was expected. That there was none was a relief to all concerned.

Senator Wadsworth announced to the Platform Committee that he would not bring in a minority report, but that fact was not to be construed into the belief that he had changed his mind.

Immediately after the planks relating to the war and the duty of the state to the nation the following plank was read:

"The woman's Federal Suffrage Amendment has passed the House of Representatives by a tremendous Republican vote. Practically every Republican County Committee in the State has urged its approval. The decisive plurality for suffrage in this great Republican State has so clearly shown the sentiment of the people, that we emphatically call upon the United States Senators from New York to vote for the submission of this amendment to the states."

The applause which followed the reading of the above resolution exceeded that of any other plank and recorded unmistakably the attitude of New York Republicans on the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

The description of the event in one newspaper paid the woman chairman the compliment of saying that "she read the long instrument of party faith so that it was not an instrument of torture, which in itself is a novelty." During the reading, the chairman interrupted to say, "Miss Hay, I fear the people in the gallery do not hear you," whereupon she addressed herself to the gallery and asked whether she was being heard. An unknown woman sitting on the topmost seat responded with clear tone, "Yes, Mary," which occasioned a general laugh.

THAT Miss Hay performed the duties of this high office with skill and dignity is no surprise to those who know her. As presiding officer her training has covered a wide range and her repute as a tactful, composed and intelligent chairman is common knowledge among women. More, the parliamentary training of women is far more extensive and able than most men realize. That a woman could carry off such honors so easily may astonish some men but it is no surprise to the millions of organized American women.

The honor paid Miss Hay was a compliment to all womanhood, but it was a more distinct recognition of the Woman Suffrage Party which through its intensive organization won the vote for the women of New York. It was far more clearly a suffrage that a woman's victory.

In his convention address, the chairman, the Honorable J. Sloat Fassett, made the following comment on the presence of the women:

"This convention marks an epoch in the political development of the State of New York. For the first time we have sitting with us representatives of the Republican women of the State of New York. The franchise never moves backward. There never will be

(*Continued on page* 178)

* Full report will follow next week.

Parties and Primaries

Part Two

By Mary Sumner Boyd

LAST week's outlines of the functions of the parties and their reaction on each other seem to present the party system as an almost ideal engine of representative democracy.

But the control of government by the two great parties has been too complete. They need not fear losing this power, except at intervals, and to each other. Here enters the flaw in the party system; this flaw is political corruption. The great parties too often lose sight of their platforms or regard them merely as idle promises with which to catch votes.

The statesman, says Ray, regards control through political parties as a means of carrying through beneficial legislation; the "politician" uses it as a means of acquiring prestige and financial gain for himself. Through control of Legislatures, through control of party and government funds and through patronage, or power to appoint to office, the politician is able to further his own interests.

Within the great party organizations there have grown up "machines" which adopted the party organization to the advancement of a group, or "rings" organized about an individual—a "boss" who very often does not hold office but controls the officeholders.

WELL-KNOWN examples are the Tammany machine in the Democratic organization and the Pennsylvania Ring in the Republican organization.

Besides patronage, which has been attacked by competitive civil service examinations, and, though by no means done away with, is not to-day as great an evil as it was, some of the methods by which the corrupt politician has controlled are thus described by a political leader.

"Years ago," says Patrick McCabe, Democratic Leader of Albany County,* "the bullies of the day played a most important part in our politics. It was very often upon their brawn and muscle that momentous questions of state devolved. They met and fought in the streets for the possession of the polls, the vanquished side leaving the victors to operate the election to their own sweet will. This was followed by a period of ballot-box stuffing, in which the opposing election officers vied with one another in placing illegal votes in the boxes. This made way for the activities of a class known as repeaters, and who on election day went from one poll to another throughout the city, repeating or voting on names furnished them by the respective party workers. The repeating evil gave way to the present-day corruption, the purchasing of the electorate at the polls."

A MORE subtle method of control used in modern days is thus described by Lynn Haines, Secretary of the National Voters League:

"For a decade politicians have been employing the subtler and safer way of getting results by manipulating public opinion."

In other words, the educating of public opinion for the statesman's ends has been replaced by the debauching of public opinion for the politician's ends.

"Instead of being," says Mr. Haines, "an agency for the common welfare, modern politics has become an end in itself, this end being office and the ever-increasing perquisites."

In his book, "Your Congress," Mr. Haines shows in National affairs how the very machinery of Congress is adapted to his own ends by the politician.* He shows how national legislation itself is directed toward getting votes.

"In the last short session of the 63rd Congress," says he, "there were passed 244 bills and resolutions. Of this number 229 related to one or another of the basic elements in the political system, patronage or pork. Less than 30 were measures in which the general public had an interest."

"Pork" is a term descriptive of a measure which secures some benefit to a member's home district at national expense; for example, a civil war pension, a post office, or other local public improvement.

AS each of the great parties when it takes its turn at office takes its share at the spoils, neither can make any very determined attack on the other's corruption. The result is "a bi-partisan system of political plunder."

"Oh, we fight some on little things like the tariff," one politician is quoted as saying of the opposite party,† "but we agree on the main issue that them as works in politics is entitled to make a living out of it."

Bossism, Prof. Dealey tells us, is a passing phase in party history. Its passing may be slow; it may never be complete, for it may, as in Great Britain, persist in the subtler, though destroyed in the cruder, forms. Through Civil Service reform it has already been attacked in the United States. Publicity has done some good in correcting the debauching of public opinion. Registration laws have been a help.

The most important step toward reform has been the recognizing of the parties by law and putting them on a semi-official basis. This is the work of this generation, for up to then the power behind the Government had no legal recognition. It has taken the form of control of the nomination of party candidates and supervision of their campaigns for office.

One of these two forms of legislation is Corrupt Practices Acts for the regulation by the state of the collection and expenditure of campaign funds, so that they shall not be obtained by force or fraud or used for bribery. A Federal Act aims to control federal campaigns, and most states now have Corrupt Practices Acts, though most of these acts are very inadequate.

Some states not only limit candidates' expenses, but bear part of them. The state of Oregon mails some publicity literature for candidates of all parties at state expense and Colorado contributes a certain percentage of each candidate's campaign expenses.

The other form of legislation is Direct Primary Laws by which all elections are controlled, conducted and paid for by the state; held at a stated time before the election of candidates for office—in the case of general elections several weeks before, the rank and file of the party membership nominate the party candidates.

Previous to primary legislation methods of nominating were various. The method in most general use was nomination by convention. Delegates of these nominating conventions were occasionally nominated by the party members, an old form of primary which is to be distinguished from the direct primary for the nomination of the candidates for office themselves. These party conventions were made up of professional politicians, who chose candidates of their own stamp. How corrupt the make-up of a nominating convention could be is shown by the following description, quoted by Ray, of a convention held in Cook County, Ill., in 1896:

Out of 723 delegates, 17 had been tried for murder, 7 had served sentence for murder or manslaughter, 36 for burglary, 2 were pickpockets. There were 84 other jail-birds; 9 kept gambling houses or houses of ill-fame; 11 were prizefighters and 275 were saloon or pool room keepers.

WITH the convention system so debased, it was time the people took a hand in making nominations, and ceased to content themselves with voting on election day for a "slate" prepared by such party representatives as those described. The system of nomination by convention possessed the further disadvantage that it removed the people still further from direct government. The movement for direct primaries is, therefore, one aspect of the movement toward direct democracy. "To regain control over the government," says Prof. Macy, "the people have taken the nominating process away from the parties and made it a state function. The party is thus a legalized agent of the state."

To-day some form of primary law exists in all states except New Mexico, which still adheres to the convention system. Primary elections for all parties take place on the same day; in a few states where the "open" system is in force also at the same polling place. They are conducted at state expense on state ballots by state election boards and under state control. Many primary laws also regulate the method of nominating party committees and the powers of these committees.

Beyond this there is little uniformity or standardization in the primary laws of the various states. Many are very inadequate and rudimentary. A list made by the Pennsylvania Legislative Reference Bureau a few years ago showed that about two-thirds of the states had direct primary laws, most of them states-wide in scope—that is, covering all and not merely local candidates—and most of them mandatory. An optional law, that is one which allows choice between convention and primary nominations, is of little value. A more recent analysis (1917) of nominations for Congress showed that under state laws all but seven states nominate these candidates by direct primaries. This is probably a good index to the number of states which now have state-wide direct primaries.

* *Albany Evening Journal*, January 30, 1918.

* See also the monthly *Searchlight on Congress*, published by the National Voters League, Woodward Bldg., Washington, D. C.

† *Your Congress*, p. 46.

‡ An up-to-date list and analysis is being prepared by the Woman's Bureau of the Democratic party.

(*Continued on page 178*)

Women and

"Woman is proclaiming her competency and emerging from the age-old traditions of the past into the sunlight of a new day. It devolves upon her now to establish her efficiency in this era of civilization, and by her achievements prove to the world that the masculine sex has no monopoly upon genius.

"For the first time in the history of our nation have the industries of this country to any extent depended upon the services of woman. They do now, and there is no doubt that the woman of America will rise and meet the emergency as women have always done, and the only reward expected will be that they too shall share to the fullest extent in the new democracy which is now struggling for existence."

—Florence King.

ONE good thing about life—it quite frequently answers its own problems. There is the problem of woman's relation to the gainful occupations. Call it "economic independence of women" and about seven out of ten scurry to cover, frightened by what looks in theory like menace to home and family. Along comes life and makes the point, through family privation and suffering in the home, that the old division of labor, men outside of the house and women inside it, doesn't work any more and that not to utilize women's productive capacity on the outside is to impose an unbearable economic burden on men, make a parasitic growth of women, and deny both quantity and quality to the world's aggregate output. In answer to life's acute showing, women file out into industry by the hundreds of thousands, into trade by the hundreds of thousands, into the professions by the thousands. The home meantime adjusts itself so easily that it dawns upon the stupidest that it is, after all, only the loss of its manufacturing function, its dairying, spinning, baking function, that we are howling about in most of the outcry about the loss of home.

That's another good thing about life—what is, is, and the stupidest has eventually to accept it.

STUPIDITY has made it possible, however, and continues to make it possible, to retard woman's progress in the gainful occupations. Some of it has been women's own stupidity, our stupid acquiescence in the traditional value of women, and some of it has been men's. Neither women nor men have been able readily to take woman's relation to industry to business, as a permanent relation, and both women and men have been dominated by the conviction that woman's business ability must always be subordinated to man's, that she must always be kept in the minor places, that even if she does the work, forsooth, she mustn't have the place or the salary. The worst thing, the farthest reaching, about this conviction is that it is vaguely backgrounded in a sort of clouded religious feeling that the male is God's chosen provider and that to let woman out and up is somehow to go against God. There is nothing so gripping as a clouded religious feeling. To be sure, the female was God's chosen provider in the beginning, but we are so far from the beginning and have drunk so much poor coffee in the meantime that we have grown hazy.

IN spite of stupidities and convictions, however, individual women have kept pushing on and up, clearing their minds of the encumbrances of tradition as they have climbed. And all along the way, they have kept up a ding-dong insistence on progress, on the illimitable goal. It was a revelation to many to learn last week that that ding-dong had at last gathered sufficient force and volume in America to be heard all over the Union and that in response to it a great gathering of business women, nine hundred the papers said, came together in Cincinnati from thirty-two different cities for the express purpose of amplifying the ideal and extending the goal for the business and professional woman. Among them were farmers, manufacturers, industrial workers, lawyers, teachers, doctors, artists, musicians, legislators and ministers. They came at the call of the Woman's Association

GEORGIA EMERY, PROMINENT IN MICHIGAN WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION OF COMMERCE

of Commerce of the U. S. A., in itself a young and daring innovation. They came, in the words of Florence King, famous woman lawyer and president of the association, because "new and greater responsibilities now urge with compelling force a bigger and broader vision of the field of usefulness for women far outside the beaten path so long followed by men."

THE Woman's Association of Commerce of the United States of America, she pointed out, was in a position, through its different state and local organizations, to encourage women to greater activities and responsibilities, and induce them to study new occupations where greater possibilities for future achievements have been opened up by war conditions.

Women are proverbially timid about the as-

FLORENCE KING, FOUNDER AND PRESIDENT OF WOMAN'S ASSOCIATION OF COMMERCE

FLORENCE KING

"The invincible ... King has crowned ... many women envy. ... and has made every ... She is not only an ... a graduate in mech... neering. Today su... Her achievement is ... an unanswerable ... gentlewoman can ... and command admi... due to her own per... tense interest in all ... been inspired by wo... need of greater so... She is a student of ... in any cause relat... women."—Chicago ...

OFFICERS AND B...

Woman's Association of Comm...

Headquarters: 1653 M...

P...

Florence King ..... Vice...

H. Anna Quinby ..... Gener...

Mary T. Dohany ..... T...

Laura G. Fixen .....

Board ...

Elizabeth Rainey.....Indianapolis, In...
Emily Napieralski.....Chicago, I...
Mrs. Thos. P. Scully.....Cincinnati, Oh...
Mrs. F. M. Pope.....Joplin, M...
Helen Varick Boswell.....New York C...
Joanna Downes.....Chicago, I...
Mrs. M. Seybold.....Wheeling, W. V...
Dr. Eleanor E. Fish.....Chicago, I...

Big Business

The Woman's Association of Commerce, in convention assembled at Cincinnati, July 19-20, passed one resolution endorsing the Federal Suffrage Amendment, another asking that at least one woman be selected for conference between warring nations when peace treaties shall be considered, and a third asking women of America to pledge themselves not to purchase goods made in Germany.

"IN 1903 FLORENCE KING DEFEATED THE MOST BRILLIANT LAWYERS AMERICA COULD PRODUCE AND ACTUALLY PUT OUT OF BUSINESS A GREAT CORPORATION WITH A CAPITAL OF £1,000,000"

UNSELOR AT LAW

mination of Florence with an honor which e was born on a farm, p count in her career. nt in legal matters, but al and electrical engi- crowns her efforts. centive to women, and ment that a refined the professional field on as her efforts are ence. She has an in- movements that have 's consciousness of the and industrial activity. al conditions and eager to the improvement of rd-Herald.

LAURA LAKE FORREST, PRESIDENT MICHIGAN WOMAN'S ASSOCIATION OF COMMERCE AND OF DETROIT BUSINESS WOMEN'S CLUB

RD OF GOVERNORS

the

r of the United States of America

dnock Bldg., Chicago, Ill.

dent.
.....Chicago, Ill.
esident.
.....Columbus, Ohio
Secretary.
.....Detroit, Mich.
urer.
.....Chicago, Ill.

Governors.

Mrs. Henry M. Dunlap	Savoy, Ill.
Mrs. Abbie K. Wilkins	San Francisco, Cal.
Anna C. McKnight	Grand Rapids, Mich.
Mrs. Ida Drury Platt	Brooklyn, N. Y.
Ione B. Duffy	Omaha, Neb.
Ada V. Pence	Des Moines, Iowa
Mary C. C. Bradford	Denver, Colo.
Katherine Bell	Columbus, Ohio

sumption of the larger responsibilities of business. They are hampered by the fears of the unaccustomed. Often they deliberately sidestep opportunity, paralyzed by the impending responsibility. Often they will do the work of a job and quite contentedly allow some man to reap its credit and salary for the sheer sake of shouldering initiative and responsibility over on him. The business world is far fuller today of women than of men in the minor business positions. The dynamic difference between them is that nine out of ten of the men have their eyes on the major positions. Nine out of ten of the women don't. They are afraid of the major positions. When you add to their own fear the inhospitality and actual inhibitions to their progress imposed by men, you have built up a fairly insuperable barrier between women and big business.

This Woman's Association of Commerce that is today taking the lead in developing women's business initiative and in securing to them new standards of achievement is just a year old, but already it has organized state associations in Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, Missouri, New York, California, and the District of Columbia. Its unit is not the individual, but the organization. It is essentially a federation of organizations of business women, including associations of commerce, business women's clubs, women's professional leagues, etc.

VARIOUS of the state associations of commerce have an extensive and intensive life of their own, with local reputations of a high order. Michigan women, for instance, as will be seen from a further perusal of these columns, maintain a notable business organization. The Woman's Association of Commerce of Indiana includes a number of business women's organizations, among them the Business Woman's Club of Indianapolis, the Woman's Rotary Club of Evansville, the Business Woman's Club of Anderson, the "Who Do" Club of Shelbyville, and the Woman's Association of Commerce of Crawfordsville. Cincinnnati is an Ohio city that boasts two forward-looking organizations of business women, one the Cincinnati Business Women's Club, the other the Women's Rotary Club. Besides the women's associations of commerce in eight states, women are slowly being admitted to representation in men's chambers of commerce. For instance, the Syracuse, New York, Chamber of Commerce has two women members, Mrs. Adele Blauvelt and Mrs. Frederick Hazard.

ACCURATE figures are not yet available to cover the great influx of women into industry, trade and transportation since the war began, but that women's line of gainful occupations has increased until there is literally no limit is current news. But individual abilities and activities of women are never so impressive as they are when rounded up into an organization. Sometimes an individual woman who is making a remarkable record of practical achievement is afflicted and inhibited by traditions and prejudices against the theory of woman's business development, and so is set against herself confusingly and, in the end, destructively. She acts right, but thinks wrong. She takes for herself, usually under the spur of necessity, all the advantage of the open door for women, but disapproves of women doing it in general. I once knew a woman manufacturer like that. I know a prominent woman journalist who seems to be similarly motived. It isn't selfishness that is responsible. It is uneasy fear, a triste outlook. It is in the development of the community spirit toward the open door, it is in the dispelling of fear and the instilling of courage, and the forcing of initiative, that organization has its great part to play among business women. It is that function that signalizes the Woman's Association of Commerce. It is the full and fine self-apprehension of the function that makes the outlook for its vast success so roseate.

Will women ever vie with men as financiers, as producers, as managers, as distributors, as buyers and sellers?

Who knows?

Who cares?

Vying is not the point at all. The point is that whatever ability women may have as financiers, producers, managers, distributors, buyers and sellers shall be realized to the full whenever and wherever it is needed. The point is that woman shall be limited only by that ability, not by blank walls of tradition and prejudice on which men have blandly written "thus far and no farther."

R. Y.

Senators, Lords and Women's Progress

By Alice Stone Blackwell

"Women never realize their inability to effect a reform until they attempt it, and then they find how closely interwoven with politics are all such matters, and how without political power are they themselves."—S. B. A.

MRS. PANKHURST is reported as saying: "I wonder if your senators realize that they are now actually less progressive than the conservative and reactionary House of Lords? The body of lawmakers that they once used to ridicule is now ahead of them in democratic measures."

Now, this is not quite fair to the United States Senate. It is true that the House of Lords has passed the woman suffrage measure, while the United States Senate has not yet done so; but the lords passed it by a vote of a little less than two to one. If our Senate, like the House of Lords, could do it by a simple majority vote, it would have been passed long ago. The United States is the only civilized country that requires a two-thirds vote. That is why we are delayed. On the woman question, the American Senate and the House of Lords seem to be about neck and neck.

Mrs. Pankhurst might with truth have boasted of the British House of Commons, however. The lower house of Congress voted for woman suffrage a little more than two to one, but the House of Commons voted for it seven to one. That magnificent majority left both the lords and our own senators far behind. But when our Senate does pass it, there will be no thirty-year age limit for women, as in England. We have no temptation to resort to that device to keep the women voters in a minority, because in the United States the women are normally less numerous than the men.

Gains of a Hundred Years

THE Lucy Stone Centennial reminds us how wonderfully the world has changed for women in the last hundred years.

When Lucy Stone was born, it was looked upon as utterly improper for a woman to speak in public. Even to write for publication was considered unfeminine. The gentle Charles Lamb himself said, "The woman who lets herself be known as an author invites disrespect." A woman who had her living to earn was rigidly restricted by public opinion to a very few poorly-paid occupations. There was not a college in the United States that admitted women. There was not a free public high school for girls. There were few organizations of women. Even to join a temperance society was considered unwomanly.

A married woman had no rights over her children. Her husband had absolute control over her property and earnings. If she earned a dollar by taking in washing, it was his dollar, not hers. If her employer paid the money to her, the husband could require it to be paid over again, to him. She could not make a valid will without her husband's consent, unless she left everything to him, in which case it was assumed that his consent would not be lacking. She could not sue or be sued; her legal existence was said to be "suspended" during marriage. Husband and wife were one, and that one was the husband. He had the right to lock her up, and, in most States, the right to beat her, "in moderation." This had been defined by a learned judge as meaning that the stick must not be thicker than the judge's thumb.

But the legal disabilities of women, heavy as they were, were less crushing than the weight of public opinion. Every man was brought up to believe that he had a divinely-ordained right to rule over his wife. Every woman was educated to believe that it was her duty to submit. The belief in women's inferiority, both of nature and status, was practically universal. It wrapped every girl child around, from her cradle up, like a invisible strait-jacket.

It is good for our young women to look backward now and then, at "the pit from which they were digged." It is hard for them to realize that gentle and virtuous women were ever mobbed and ostracized, merely for making public speeches upon philanthropic subjects—and that this was done in America, within the memory of persons now living.

The world has been largely revolutionized in its attitude toward women. But all those ancient limitations and disabilities had to be demolished piecemeal, one by one, after years of hard and laborious hammering away by the friends of equal rights. The removal of each one was fought by the conservatives as stubbornly as the Federal amendment is now being fought by a handful of "wilful men" in the United States Senate; and with just as sincere a conviction that the change would wreck the home and ruin womanliness.

Ida M. Tarbell, who is not a suffragist, says that every woman of today, in the enjoyment of a broader life, owes a debt of gratitude to the pioneer advocates of equal rights. Among the bravest and sweetest of these was Lucy Stone; and the changed world for women today is a monument to her and her co-workers.

Underpaid Teachers

THE shortage of teachers is also calling attention to the fact that the 740,000 teachers in the United States receive an average salary of considerably less than $600 a year—a trifle over $10 per week. Think of that, with the cost of living what it is to-day! And, if this is the average salary, it means that a multitude of teachers are paid even less. Susan B. Anthony well said, when this subject was discussed in a teachers' convention, many years ago, that the profession would always be at a disadvantage so long as the great majority of teachers belonged to a disfranchised sex.

There is also a pervasive and persistent tendency to think that women's pay ought not to be high. Not long ago an effort was made in Boston to have women teachers given equal pay with men for equal work. The authorities said, "Oh, no! A man must have higher pay than a woman, because he has a family to support." At about the same time an investigation was going on to determine what should be the minimum wage for the scrub women who clean Boston's great office buildings. Almost all of them are widows with children. The women on the investigating committee wanted this fact taken into consideration in determining what should be recommended as a living wage for this class of workers. But most of the men on the committee said, "Oh, no! The pay must be according to the service rendered. It would be out of the question to increase a worker's pay on account of the number of her children!" They even argued at first that the minimum wage for a widow with children should be less than that of a single woman living alone, and should be reckoned on the same basis as that of a daughter living at home. That is, if a widow was supporting six children, they would have estimated a living wage for her as one-seventh of what it cost to maintain that home. However, the women on the committee finally made them see the injustice of this. It was a striking example of the importance of having women on all boards that deal with questions relating to women's work.

But the general rule laid down in the case of the scrub women was just the opposite of that laid down in the case of the teachers. For the teachers, the basis of pay must not be service rendered, but family obligations. For the scrubwomen the basis of pay could be only service rendered, and family obligations must not be allowed to count. In each case, the rule adopted was that which would result in lower pay for the woman.

Another Delusion Shattered

THE war is knocking out many nonsensical ideas, some of which the advocates of equal rights had hammered away at for years without success. One is the doctrine that a married woman cannot teach school without neglecting her children. Just now there is an acute shortage of teachers, owing to the much higher pay that educated women are offered in various war industries. And so we see Boards of Education that had forced teachers to resign upon marrying, now earnestly imploring those married teachers to return to the schools. If they really believe what they used to tell us—that this would compel these women to sacrifice the welfare of their children—what business have they to urge any mother to wrong her own offspring? But, as soon as they are in a tight place and really need the married woman's services, they see that in many cases it is quite possible to adjust domestic affairs in such a way that the children will not suffer.

Are Women Protected?

AMAZING revelations of profiteering are brought out in the recent report of a Federal Commission. The overcharging of the public for food is declared to have been especially exorbitant. These exposures recall the question asked by the anti-suffragists a few years ago when it was said that women needed the ballot for protection. The antis demanded scornfully, "Protection from what?" Well, from many things, and among others, from food sharks!

The Time Has Come

"CONGRESS must be convinced that the time has come for the enfranchisement of the women of America," said Mrs. A. L. Bailey, president of the Vermont Equal Suffrage Association, when addressing the annual convention of the Suffragists of Vermont. "Legislatures must think nationally, for government of the people, by the people and for the people, is a world question."

Plans for a state-wide ratification campaign were laid at this convention, which was held July 10 and 11, at the Hotel Sherwood, Burlington. It was a rousing convention, well attended, and much work was outlined for the coming months. The call to the convention declared the passage and ratification of the Federal Amendment to be a vital part of the nation's "Win-the-War" program, and therefore, work in behalf of the Amendment should make an appeal to all patriotic Vermont women. That was the consensus of opinion among convention delegates.

MRS. HALSEY W. WILSON, recording secretary of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, brought greetings from Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the national body, to the delegates. At the evening session Mrs. Wilson gave an address on "Suffrage As An Immediate War Measure," drawing a vivid picture of the part women are playing in the world's progress today. She showed the possible result in the vote in future elections if the war continues for an indefinite period and men are sent to France by the millions, leaving unenfranchised women at home.

A general discussion on "What Good Will Suffrage Do Our Country," evoked some rousing speeches, with Mrs. Bailey leading.

Mrs. A. L. Bailey of St. Johnsbury, was re-elected president. She will have on her staff Mrs. L. C. Blanchard, Montpelier, vice-president; Mrs. E. J. Parmelee, Enosburg, second vice-president; Mrs. W. L. Bryant, Springfield, third vice-president; Mrs. Anna Hawks Putnam, Bennington, fourth vice-president; Mrs. L. K. Thomas, Richford, treasurer; Mrs. E. H. Reed, Burlington, recording secretary; Miss Dorothy Walters, St. Johnsbury, corresponding secretary; Mrs. John Spargo, Bennington, auditor.

DURING the period of the convention, much favorable comment appeared in the press of the state. The *Free Press* of Burlington, in welcoming the convention, said editorially: "It is hoped that the present session of Congress may see the submission to the states of the proposed Amendment to the constitution looking to the extension of political justice to women."

The *News* of Burlington, also speaking editorially, said: "Of especial moment is this year's session, both because of the growing participation of women in the elections of Vermont with the partial extension of the franchise, and of the fact that the fate of the national suffrage amendment is hanging in the balance.

"As in the case of daylight saving, when these two things, national suffrage and prohibition, have been accomplished, the only question will be, why it took mere man so long to see the advantages of the step."

THE Arkansas Constitutional Convention, by a vote of 69 to 9, adopted resolutions endorsing the Federal Suffrage Amendment now pending in Congress and memorialized the United States Senate to pass it immediately. The resolution further asked that the Arkansas legislature, at its session in 1919, ratify the Amendment at the earliest opportunity, in the event that it is passed by the Sixty-fifth Congress. The resolution cited that the adoption of the Amendment was desired as a war measure. This action was taken by the convention at Little Rock on July 14.

THE Democrats of Arkansas in convention at Little Rock on July 11 wrote the following plank in their platform:

"Believing that just governments derive their powers from the consent of the governed and in confirmation of the action taken by National Democratic Convention, we stand for full and unlimited suffrage for women."

The Resolutions Committee unanimously endorsed the following resolution:

"We heartily approve extending the franchise to women, and urge Senators and Congressmen to support all the measures now or hereafter pending in Congress looking to passage of a federal amendment to the Constitution of the United States permitting the women to vote, and in the event of its passage, we urge that the legislature of this state at once ratify the same."

Mrs. T. T. Cotnam, chairman of the Arkansas Equal Suffrage Central Committee, and a member of the Resolutions Committee of the Democratic Convention, in addressing the convention at the afternoon session thanked the Democratic Party for giving the women a voice in their councils, and praised their liberal spirit toward the women in the convention. She declared women do not want to "run the state government, but only to help run it." Mrs. Cotnam said women favor the adoption of a new constitution. She believes the need for one has been made greater because of the war.

A headline in the *Arkansas Gazette* states "Women Delegates Prove They Are no Figure-heads," and then the writer continues:

"Whatever else may be said, it cannot be asserted that the women are not taking a keen interest in the convention proceedings. This was one of the causes of complaint of the old-timers. They wailed that the women insisted on having every little detail explained to them, and that the fair ones constantly were on the alert for fear that something might be put over on them in their unfamiliarity with the wiles of the politicians.

"There were far more women delegates present in proportion to their representation than there were men. They attended in force all such perfunctory proceedings as minor committee meetings and they controlled the actions of some of these committees.

"It may safely be said that absolutely nothing was 'put over' on them by the wily politicians. There wasn't a chance—not a chance in the world."

FOR the first time in the history of Arkansas Democracy and possibly for the first time in the history of politics in the South, according to the press of Arkansas, a woman was elected a member of the State Central Committee. Mrs. Stella Brizzolara of Fort Smith holds this honor, having been elected at the caucus of the delegates from the Twelfth judicial district.

"One of the finest things about the convention, to my mind, was the consideration and gallantry shown the women members by the men," Mrs. Brizzolara is quoted as saying.

Suffragists Versus Brewers

A TAX-PAYERS' suit is on in the common pleas court in Franklin County, Ohio, to test the constitutionality of a proposed amendment to the Ohio State Constitution, making the ratification of federal amendments by the Legislature subject to referendum.

The proposed amendment is initiated by the Ohio Home Rule Association (the wets). The National American Woman Suffrage Association is bringing suit at the request of the Ohio Woman Suffrage Association in order to settle the question for the whole country.

The taxpayers' suit stands in the name of Edgar L. Weinland of Columbus, plaintiff. Mr. Weinland is one of the leading attorneys of the capital city, a member of the Commission that framed the Columbus Charter, a trustee of Oberlin University and a member of the local draft board. He is acting as plaintiff purely in conformity to his ideals of right. His attorney in the suit is Frank Davis, Jr.

In his petition for Mr. Weinland, Mr. Davis alleges that the proposed amendment is in effect an amendment to the United States Constitution, a matter in which the Ohio Constitution is powerless.

In view of this unconstitutionality, Mr. Davis asks for his client that the Secretary of State be restrained from expending any moneys out of the public funds for printing ballots, publishing and distributing pamphlets and arguments for and against the proposal.

He claims that it will cost the State at least $25,000 to put to vote the question, which, if carried, would be null and void.

(*Continued on page 178*)

Forty Years of Struggle

IN a review of the forty years of unbroken struggle for the passage of the federal suffrage amendment, conducted by the National American Woman Suffrage Association, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the association, calls attention to the fact that from the year 1878, when Miss Anthony, then secretary, first got the suffrage measure introduced into Congress, until today, there has not been a session of House or Senate that has not been importuned in behalf of the measure by the association.

"It has been a long and weary struggle and the victory can not come too soon. The burden of carrying war work and suffrage work is almost too heavy for even work-inured suffragists to endure," said Mrs. Catt.

"For years it was Miss Anthony's habit to come in person to Washington to plead before House or Senate committee that had the measure in charge. She brought other women with her, women famous in history of the last century, women like Julia Ward Howe, Mary A. Livermore, Isabel Beecher Hooker, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, etc. They were the first 'suffrage lobby' that Washington ever knew.

"FROM the beginning the association's program was conditioned by the need of winning a sufficient number of states to suffrage by the state route to make it possible to win the nation to suffrage by the federal route. In those early days, Miss Anthony and her coworkers were strongly imbued with the idea that they were to stand not upon the order of getting suffrage, but get it, and the plan of the National Association was divided between state referenda and the federal suffrage amendment, now one, now the other, according to the exigency of the times. Year by year the association has carried forward this dual program, winning a state here, a state there, and year by year keeping up the agitation and the education on the subject of federal suffrage.

"The whole force of argument for the federal suffrage, as political leaders understand forceful argument, has lain all along in the number of women who might have to be reckoned with as a national voting unit. Quite aside from the question of sex solidarity, women who have been enfranchised do not take kindly to disfranchisement incurred through crossing a state border. Their thought and ambition turn toward federal suffrage as the agency through which they will be assured the same national protection in their voting rights as men enjoy. Up to the year 1910 the number of voting women was negligible. The total number of electoral votes which they had a share in determining was only nine. Washington came into the full suffrage column that year, under the banner of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, bringing five more electoral college votes. In 1911 California swung into line, and in 1912 Kansas, Arizona and Oregon were counted in. In 1913 Illinois women won presidential and municipal suffrage. In 1914 Nevada and Montana were won to full suffrage. In 1917 the National American Woman Suffrage Association inaugurated its drive for presidential suffrage. The legislatures of six states responded favorably; one state, Arkansas, granted its women primary suffrage, which, in a one-party state, is equivalent to full suffrage, and Vermont granted state-wide municipal suffrage. In November, New York's great victory was won. The year 1918 has been signalized by the winning of primary suffrage in Texas.

"Years ago, I was traveling with Miss Anthony on one of those state campaigning tours which she used to have us all make with everlasting regularity. 'How many states,' I asked her, 'shall we have to win before we shall be strong enough to give over this round of state referenda and focus our whole strength on Congress and the federal suffrage amendment?' She was thoughtful for a minute and then replied, 'I don't know how many states we shall have to win, but I feel sure that when the time comes we shall know it beyond peradventure of a doubt.'

"The time has come, and we do know it beyond peradventure of a doubt. While we have been winning states year by year, we have not lost sight of our federal objective. Year by year, the association's federal program has been intensified and broadened, and year by year, the focus on that program has grown sharper. In place of the old flying squadron that Miss Anthony used to bring to Washington, there was established, years ago, a permanent Congressional Committee, with Washington headquarters.

"The personnel of this committee has been composed, from time to time, of women of political acumen and its firing line early became a highly specialized training ground for the suffrage lobbyist. The chairmanship of the committee has been held by well-known women from various parts of the country, at various times. During this most highly critical year and a half, Mrs. Maud Wood Park, of Massachusetts, has been the chairman, and to her untiring diligence and political skill women attribute the highly favorable outlook today.

"But on the eve of success for this long-drawn struggle the valiant service of the women of the present is commingled with the service of the women of the past, and no one worthy of the name of suffragist is concerned today as to what workers or to what stage of the work credit for the impending victory is due. It is enough that victory is near."

Ratification Prospects

PREPARATORY to the ratification campaigns which will be formally launched the moment the Senate passes the Federal Amendment, the state suffrage associations throughout the country are getting everything in shape for quick action. Already candidates for political office are being put on record as regards their attitude on the ratification of the Amendment. St. Louis suffragists sent out a questionnaire to all candidates for the legislature from that district, in order to find out their standing when a vote for the Amendment shall come before the 50th General Assembly of Missouri. The result has been satisfactory. Many replies have already been received pledging the candidates to ratification.

Indiana suffragists, believing that women of the state are anxious to know how the nominees for the next session of the legislature stand on suffrage, have published the list of successful candidates who have declared themselves friends of suffrage. The list is long and speaks well for speedy ratification by the legislature of that state.

SENATOR WILLIAM M. CALDER, of New York, says "New York State by a majority of over 100,000 has given its women the vote, and when the Senate passes the Federal Amendment, I have no doubt that the New York Legislature will immediately approve it, in fact, I am sure it will for I am in receipt of a resolution adopted by both branches of the Legislature by almost an unanimous vote, approving the Federal Amendment and urging me to vote for it."

Senator Miles Poindexter, of Washington, an ardent believer in the amendment, says that the entire West long ago overcame the prejudice which troubles some parts of the country and is intensely interested in the outcome of the vote in the Senate. The experience of many years has confirmed the deep conviction in the West which will ratify the amendment at the first opportunity.

Senator Morris Sheppard of the Lone Star State, which gave women the primary vote in the last legislature, declares that "the sentiment in favor of woman suffrage has grown so rapidly in Texas in the past year that I believe it is now strongly in favor of the passage of the Federal Amendment by this session of the Senate, and that Texas will ratify at the next session of the legislature. Texas realizes that the United States cannot consistently stand before the world as the leader and champion of democracy, while refusing to establish a democracy at home by denying self-government to half its people."

HITTITE tablets in the University of Pennsylvania museum recently deciphered by Prof. Sayce of Oxford show that men and women shared the government in the cities of an empire which stretched from the Mediterranean to the Black Sea. "Each province," says the New York *Herald*, "was subdivided into cities, and these were supervised by a mayor and prefectress, whose powers were coordinate. In one instance the woman mayor had an official status independent of the male official.

Arizona's Men Legislators

BOUQUETS, verbal and floral, fell to the lot of Arizona's women legislators from the men legislators, on the closing day of the special session of the legislature a few weeks ago.

Beautiful bouquets were sent to the desk of the ladies and Mrs. O'Neil of Maricopa County, as spokesman for all three women, acknowledged the gifts, as well as the continued courtesies, of the liberal men of the legislature.

It would seem that the men of the Arizona House are proud of what their women colleagues have achieved and didn't hesitate to tell them so. Representative Cook complimented each woman on the excellent measures she had mothered to successful enactment.

This special legislature was a war session, and its keynote was one of patriotism. One of the most conspicuous bills presented was a 100 per cent-American bill, proposed by Mrs. Theodore Marsh of Nogales, "the lady from Santa Cruz," a Democratic Representative.

MRS. THEODORA MARSH OF SANTA CRUZ

MRS. PAULINE O'NEIL OF MARICOPA

Among the bills put through in the regular legislative session of 1917, by Mrs. Marsh, who is president of a large hardware business, and its successful manager, was a public welfare bill. She is known also as the sponsor of the Child Welfare Bill. Mrs. Marsh inherited her big business from her husband's estate. She is a widow with two daughters.

Mrs. Pauline O'Neil of Phoenix, has secured legislation on educational measures during the two sessions of Arizona's Third Legislature.

Mrs. Rosa McKay, "the lady from Cochise," is known as the mother of the Minimum Wage Bill, the winning of which in the Arizona Legislature of 1917 was characterized as "the greatest victory ever won by women's votes and won by a woman, against tremendous odds."

To put this measure through, Mrs. McKay had to fight almost single-handed in the same legislature now congratulating her upon her victory. The organized majority of the House was lined up against her. She carried the bill to the Senate herself and was permitted the privilege of the floor. Her appeal was so eloquent and impressive that her bill went through with but three dissenting votes.

The law is an unusually strong one, providing for a minimum wage of ten dollars, and carries compulsory power and penalties.

Mrs. McKay will probably run again for the House, this time from Gila County. Mrs. McKay and Mrs. Marsh have represented Mexican border sections, Cochise and Santa Cruz being just across the line from Sonora, Mexico.

Women in Public Service

DURHAM COUNTY, N. C., took a big step forward when it decided recently to place women on the school committees of the county and in pursurance of the new policy placed six women on committees. In commenting upon this departure from precedent the Durham *Herald* says: "Suffrage won a big victory when the county board of education adopted a policy of placing women on school committees." The Durham *Sun* says: "Now look for better schools."

WOMEN can keep secrets. This important discovery was made by London bankers and has been cabled to America. According to the reports women were first admitted to employment in British banks with fears and misgivings on the part of the directors lest the women divulge the business secrets. All this is changed now, according to the *Bankers' Magazine*, which says: "It is gratifying to think that after three years' experience with the new conditions no ground whatever has been found for these fears."

CLARA GRAECEN of the Treasury Department, expert accountant and law clerk, has joined the force of the Comptroller of the Currency in France. She has been fifteen years in the Treasury Department, and is described as an "investigator of difficult questions, giving special attention to naval tangles."

Proud of Women Colleagues

"WHERE women have been candidates for office," says the Los Angeles *Tribune*, "it has been in answer to a public demand for definite service, or in calm, deliberate recognition of woman's share in the privileges and burdens of the state, rather than an expression of individual political ambition or desire for notoriety.

"In other words, woman's desire for the ballot is proven to be in protection of the home, in loyalty to the country, in a deep interest of the well being of humanity, and an inborn passion for effective service in every right activity. There is thus far a singleness and sincerity of purpose shown in woman's use of the ballot which men in general might well emulate."

THE Washington State Federation of Labor will welcome to its ranks women who enter the various industries that men may be released for military service, according to a statement reported to have been made by W. M. Short, President of the State Federation of Labor, at the annual convention of that body, held recently at Aberdeen. He also stated that equal pay for women union members with that accorded men working in similar capacities will be demanded by organized labor. It is the intention of federated labor to work for laws which will place stronger safeguards about women and children workers when the legislature convenes.

MRS. ROSA McKAY OF COCHISE

ALTHOUGH the election was thrown out by the Austrian Government on the ground that the election of a woman was unconstitutional, nevertheless the free choice of the people sent a woman, Mme. Vikora Kuneticka, to the Prague Constituent Assembly which met last January.

THE United States Food Administration has issued 20,000 diplomas to college girls who have completed food conservation courses.

The Half-Loaf of Dutch Women

By Martina G. Kramers

ON May 21st the lists of candidates for the parliamentary election of July was published, and it is not without interest for suffragists. Since December 12, 1917, the women of Holland have enjoyed the singular position of half-enfranchised citizens, the Dutch legislators in their inscrutable wisdom having judged them worthy of governing town and country, not of deciding who is to govern. Strange anomaly!

But the will of the people speaks in no uncertain fashion; the political parties, both old and new ones, have given women a place on their list of candidates, and some quite favorable places too; so our premier, who has always prided himself on studying and carrying out the will of the people, can now see that the Dutch nation is determined to have the women by the side of the men in the government of the state.

Accordingly political parties of old standing, like the Liberals, and newly-formed ones, like the Economical League, have each tried to find women for their lists who might be expected to have public favor and to win a number of votes for the party. It is expected that some of the women candidates will be elected; the total number of female candidates is twenty scattered over the lists of nine parties.

IT HAS been interesting to observe the effect of the new system of proportional representation on our electorate. However, this effect cannot be studied apart from the great change in the functions of state and government occasioned by the war, the task of these bodies having now developed into becoming an instrument for finding and distributing provisions for the community in addition to their old task of protecting acquired property. The opinion of the electors, now *all* the men over 25 years old, has felt the influence of the unprecedented circumstances in which we live and new groups of people holding similar opinions have been formed. Many accuse our parliament and each and all of its members of drowning the needs of the country in a flood of words, instead of acting as circumstances demand. This feeling has made people rebellious against our ruler, our parliament and even the whole parliamentary system, and, in addition to this two or three groups of workers and employees have considered it profitable to try and get one or two of their men into parliament regardless of public interest and bound only to speak for their groups of actors, farmers, retail dealers, subaltern soldiers, police or firemen. The general discontent has given rise to various new parties, all beginning by claimng that they wanted to have nothing to do with "politics," that detestable thing. Nevertheless they are promptly obliged to form political parties if they would be at all represented in parliament and have any power in the government of the country.

A GROUP of women, too, have taken up an anti-political attitude and have split off from the Dutch Woman Suffrage Association, putting their specific women's claims to the fore and repudiating any alliance with or help from political parties. They fail to explain how voteless women can ever hope to win the government's ear for their claims or its power for the realization of those claims. However, disdaining the support of any group of electors these women have now founded a Neutral Woman Suffrage Association and a League to Promote the Election of Women to Parliament and Municipalities. Needless to say, this band of women is small and their influence next to nothing.

Meanwhile the Dutch Woman Suffrage Association is losing no opportunity of urging the women's right to participation in the nation's affairs and especially to the vote by upholding the views of suffragists in all public discussions. The names of twenty women on sundry lists of candidates gives us a good starting point for our argumentation.

Our President, Dr. Aletta Jacobs, is No. 3 on the list of the Radicals, our Vice-President, Mrs. van Balenklaar, on that of the Liberal Union, and many more members of the W. S. A. occupy different places on other lists. Besides the Socialists have put up six women candidates, two of whom are nearly sure of election; Miss Suze Groeneweg, member of the S. D. Party Executive, is No. 3 and Mrs. Carrie Pothins-Smit is No. 4 of the list, so we may hope to see women enter our Second Chamber in September.

With the encouraging example of Denmark before us, we feel sure of success on July 3rd, the day of our Parliamentary Election.*

MARTINA G. KRAMERS.

* One of the women candidates, Miss Groeneweg, was elected.

Detroit Business Women Meet

MICHIGAN women organized a state-wide Association of Commerce last February, and late in June of this year a two-days' convention of 600 representatives from all over the state was held in Detroit under the direction of the Detroit Business Woman's Club. The object of this first convention of Michigan business women was to organize all self-supporting women into a body effective for handling problems of vital interest to women in civic, industrial and professional lines and to stimulate the formation of local associations.

Probably the largest gathering of business women ever held in the United States sat down to the banquet, presided over by Mrs. Lena Lake Forrest, president of the Detroit Business Woman's Club and also president of the Michigan Woman's Association of Commerce.

At the business session suffrage was unanimously endorsed. A resolution endorsing "Equal work for equal pay" was also unanimously adopted, as well as one endorsing the plan of the National Business Woman's committee for co-operation in war work with the National Board of the Y. W. C. A. This plan is designed to bring about greater efficiency in business and to promote and protect the interests of all business women. A Bureau of Information was established for the use of all business and professional women of the state, and through this bureau information regarding positions, may be obtained.

The *Detroiter* says that there is a "new place for women in the esteem of the community" on account of the big financial war campaigns in which women have developed "unsuspected capacity."

"For a long time women were rarely seen in Board of Commerce rooms except at an occasional evening entertainment. Then they began to appear in small numbers at committee meetings and other gatherings. At the Liberty Loan meetings they were numerously represented in the galleries. And now at the Patriotic Fund gatherings they have been given the front six rows of seats on the main floor of auditorium. Next thing you know some one will be proposing a plan under which they may be admitted to membership and the directorate of the Board of Commerce. At any rate, the record they have made in war activities will add thousands of affirmatives to the vote on the equal suffrage amendment next November."

IN years gone by, under the old regimen, every woman looked so naturally to home-making as the acme of her ambition, that it is hard for the women who are going into business to see that initiative is the principal thing required in a business career. It seems natural for woman to strike for second rather than first place but that is also the case with a large majority of men, as you doubtless know. In everything in which women assume positive direction, they succeed as well as men, but the trouble is that they so rarely are willing to take the whiphand.

How many generations of suffragists will have to come and go before the customary habit of mind of woman may change is a matter in the realm of prophecy; but when she comes to understand what she really needs to do, in order to compete with strong men in the most effective way, she will doubtless play the higher part which is possible to women who have the higher capacity.

There are just as many women per hundred who are specially capable in all directions as men, but the sex has not yet discovered that this is the truth. C. C. GAINES,
President Eastman Business College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

CONTRIBUTIONS RECEIVED DURING MONTH OF JUNE, 1918
REPORTED BY EMMA W. ROGERS, TREASURER, N. A. W. S. A.

Annual Pledges

Carrie C. Catt	$500.00	
Mrs. Ernest Stix	50.00	
Mrs. Gilbert Stark	25.00	
Wisconsin Women Suffrage Ass'n.	150.00	
Mrs. William G. Willcox	200.00	
Mrs. A. G. Leonard	10.00	
Frances Lagrave Harrison	50.00	
Katharine Whiteley	10.00	
Mrs. David O'Neil	25.00	
Mrs. William Belknap	500.00	
		$1,520.00

General Donations

Carrie C. Catt	$179.13	
Mrs. James D. Winsor	5.00	
Mary Olcott	200.00	
Frances Van Baalen	25.00	
Mrs. Willard Straight	100.00	
Mrs. H. A. Grant	100.00	
Katherine Boyles	5.00	
		$614.13
		$2,134.13

Two Letters from "Over There"

"ONE OF THE LUCKIEST PEOPLE IN THE WORLD" WHO IS "THANKFUL SHE IS TRULY HELPING"

From the Military Hospital

By Mary Averell Brown

IT has been decided that I am to remain here. Mrs. Raymond Brown is perfectly fine, and, after talking it over with the *medicin chef* and Miss McKee, they decided that I should stay, and I'm delighted. I'm telling the truth when I say I never felt better in my life. Miss McKee and her friend, Miss Wilbur, are wonders and take the best care of us. I am one of the luckiest people in the world to be able to do this work. Why, it's wonderful, and I am thankful to feel that I am truly helping. We take down dressings, wash the wounds, shave and put on temporary dressings, and the patients are ready for the operation. You see, we get the blessés direct from the trench dressing stations, as they come to us only to be operated upon, and evacuate the next day if possible to a hospital further in to make room for others. We have been and are terribly busy now.

Yesterday we had nearly all Germans to prepare. It is a good sign when we get so many German prisoners. Most of them are mere babies—not more than eighteen years old (not much younger than their wise nurse), although there were a few older ones among them. This class of Germans are certainly fooled into believing all sorts of crazy things. One said seriously that he thought the Kaiser was in Paris.

The Germans seem so much dirtier in every way than the French and are alive with "cooties." I've only seen one "cootie" on a Frenchman. I'm feeling "creepy" today and I'm going to comb my hair with a fine-tooth comb and am hoping for the best. Most of the French doctors are just as decent to the Germans as they are to the French. I think this is quite wonderful of them.

MARY AVERELL BROWN
The Very Youngest Nurse at the Military Unit

From the Refugee Hospital

By Anne Hirst Curry

(Special Correspondence from France.)

OVER here we are already blasé. Little surprises us. So we glance through the office door and down the hill in a sandy hollow we see the rear view of a very masculine pair of blue overalls. The overalls seat themselves with a tired thump and we are not at all thrilled to catch the sunburned face of—a man? We know better. It is Mrs. Griffith beneath the broad hat. She is building an incinerator. Not that she, or any other woman to our knowledge, ever built an incinerator for a hospital before, but that an incinerator is needed for the burning of dressings, and so an incinerator is built—and built well, we may add. "C'est la guerre!"

Again, on top of the kitchen, astride the peaked roof, sits a khaki-clad figure minus the dignity of skirts. Blows from a well-directed hammer assert that the stovepipe is in proper place to stay. Again, a woman works.

Our chauffeur, driving to —— yesterday, discovered that one of her pets, "Sorosis," was not running smoothly. Under the car in a moment, stretched full length. Discovered, of course, by a passing French motor, but disdainfully (and politely) declining masculine aid.

And so it goes. Women are building pump drains, laying boardwalks, putting up shelves, repairing engines—and doing these things with what tools and materials they can get. For both are scarce and perhaps defective; lumber is not thoroughly dried and warps almost immediately; a good planing tool is almost not to be had, and one's ingenuity is sadly taxed to accomplish the task that must be done well and quickly. Even the tools and equipment that can be purchased here are priced at figures out of all comparison with their value, even with the real need for them. . . In the office the situation is the same. For one bottle of good American ink—which is not to be had—the bookkeeper and secretary would willingly sacrifice their allowances of butter. Index files are so extravagantly priced that it is beyond all reason to buy them; so our agile-minded carpenter is building one for us, as she has built an office desk of pine, one for the typewriter, and supplied divers other necessities on which we try to save money. Metal clips, such as are counted by the hundred gross in every American office, are not to be obtained down here; we use tiny bits of transparent gummed tape such as are used to mend music and books with back home; if the filing becomes heavy, a precious pin is stuck in and guarded with jealous eye. Every scrap of paper is used in some way, both sides, and the wastebasket is the least busy of all the office force. Every department of the hospitals and the work relating to its carry-on is facing the same condition of insufficient and inferior tools. But it is excellent training for the inventive mind—and for the temper!

THE opening of our hospital on Sunday, June 23, was a great success. The entire village, and more, was represented. The Prefet, in all his glory and accompanied by his four counselors, made a most charming and gracious speech. The Minizan Band added much to the festivities, and the school children, singing the National Anthem (ours) in English, which they had learned in three days, were very touching indeed. The simple refreshments seemed to appeal to every one. We had lemonade and pastries and coffee.

I spent the day after writing letters of thanks to those who took part and, will you believe me, every single one wrote and thanked us for writing. I tell you the French will not be out-done in courtesy.

Needed for the

WOMEN'S OVERSEA HOSPITALS

Bed gowns for men, long and short.

Bath gowns of cotton flannel (to keep bulk as small as possible). These may be made by any accepted Red Cross pattern.

Sheets for single beds, pillow cases.

Send before August 15 to the Infirmary for Women and Children, 321 East Fifteenth Street, New York City, in care of Mrs. George W. Bacon and mark for the Women's Oversea Hospitals.

SEND ALL FUNDS FOR THE HOSPITALS
to the treasurer of the
NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION
MRS. HENRY WADE ROGERS,
171 Madison Avenue, New York City.

Their First Convention

(*Continued from page* 168)

in the future a time when the women will not share with us equally the rights and the duties of citizenship. I am not one of those who ever regarded this revolutionary proceeding with either dread, or suspicion, or opposition. I never could see any good reason why the state should deprive itself of the assistance of the better half of its citizenry. I have always believed that the women of this state and the women of America would be a potent factor for good service and good results in political activities, as they have always been potent factors for good results in all charities of the world, and in the church of the world, and in the homes of the world.

"Their passion for fair play and high ideals, their motherly instincts for helping the weak, and the unfortunate, and the inefficient; their bravery and resolution in times of peril convince me that we shall look back in the future with great joy and pride to the occasion when we first welcomed women to equal political rights. I can only say in passing that I hope the women, and I believe the women, will regard this high privilege for which they have struggled so many years in vain, with greater respect than we men have habitually regarded it."

WHEN Miss Hay was reading the closing paragraphs of the platform a group of the picket party, sitting in the gallery, let down a banner over the railing containing the words: "Senator Wadsworth obstructs the freedom of women. We demand his support for the national Suffrage Amendment or his resignation from the Senate." As soon as it was observed by the delegates pandemonium reigned and cries of "put them out, put them out," "tear it down," were heard on every side. Chairman Fassett ordered the banner taken down by the Sergeant at Arms. The picketers held on to it, while the Convention continued to roar, there being no sympathy manifested among the delegates for the interrupters. The banner was eventually captured and peace restored. Miss Hay stepping forward on the platform, said:

"That banner was not put there by the voting women of New York."

Later, when Mrs. Baker of Washington denied the truth of this claim, Miss Hay issued the following statement:

"I understand that it is said I made an inaccurate statement in claiming that the banner in question was not placed by the women voters of New York State. A note was sent me on the platform after the incident closed to this effect. It was, of course, impossible for me to reopen the discussion then. I am told that several of the women connected with the incident are enrolled New York voters. To this extent, therefore, my statements seem to have been inaccurate. But the spirit of what I said remains true that this group of women is not representative of the women voters of New York State. In fact, the opposition manifested by the whole assemblage to the banner, justifies my own attitude throughout the New York suffrage campaign, in always opposing the militant tactics of the National Woman's Party, and also in the campaign for the Federal Suffrage Amendement as unnecessary and undignified tactics."

As a matter of historical fact, few, if any, women belonging to the group known as the Woman's Party assisted the great New York campaign, while, on the contrary, several obstructed it. The women presenting the banner were not known as women to whom any credit for the New York victory belongs.

As a matter of further fact, the words on the banner represented a sentiment very generally felt by men and women in New York. Had Senator Wadsworth the nicety of feeling which one should expect in a gentleman, he would either vote for the Federal Suffrage Amendment so strongly demanded by his State, or if his feelings forbid, resign in order that representative government may proceed. It has been made clear that he has no such understanding of his duty and has given no evidence that he intends to do other than continue to obstruct the will of his state. No banner tactics can compel him to change his attitude and the psychology of such methods has the reverse effect.

A woman beaten by her husband complained bitterly to the neighbors. One night they heard her cries as his blows fell upon her. They flew to her defense but were much discomfited when the woman grabbed a chair and attacked her would-be defenders. She would not permit them to thus "insult her husband." That is a story of simple everyday psychology.

In similar fashion Republican men and women who hold exactly the views of the banner turned against the group of outstanders who attempted to attack the Senator in public fashion. Many men said to the women delegates, "We know Senator Wadsworth has not done right. We cannot defend him and do not intend to try, but we cannot stand by and see him insulted."

Some tactics are psychologically right and some are psychologically wrong and this was an episode which helped not at all, but put a bitter taste in many mouths. There is little reason to suppose that "rhyme or reason" will alter the bigotry of the Senator's attitude. The Federal Suffrage Amendment will pass without him.

Mrs. Wadsworth is reported by the press to have said to a picketer:

"You will see, if he (Senator Wadsworth) offers himself again for public service, the anti-suffragists will be in a majority both among men and women. They will support a man who clings to principle rather than to bow to political expediency."

Senator Wadsworth's wife has thrown down the gauntlet and thus announces that when and if he comes up for re-election it will be a drawn battle between suffragists and anti-suffragists. It is doubtful if Republicans will take the risk of nominating him, but if they do, New York at times has had a Democratic senator. It will upon that occasion have another.

The women of New York are fairly in politics.

C. C. C.

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Suffragists vs. Brewers

(*Continued from page* 173)

The case has shaped itself into a clear contest between the Ohio "wets" and the Ohio suffragists.

It will attract national attention and may be carried to the Supreme Court of the United States.

Parties and Primaries

(*Continued from page* 169)

The president of the United States is still nominated by convention, though about half the states have presidential preference primaries, by means of which state delegates go to the National Convention with a knowledge of the people's preference for presidential candidate. These are of little effectiveness, however, and in his message to Congress in December, 1913, President Wilson recommended a general Federal direct primary law. This would bring Federal nominations, like Federal campaigns, under the control of the National government.

In about one-third of the states, delegates to the National Convention are nominated at primaries.

The direct primary is a great improvement on the older system; the main charge against it is a charge against the voter. Few voters come out at the primaries. At the last gubernatorial election in New York the Republican vote cast was almost three times as large as the vote cast at the Republican primaries. The reason for this is partly that the voter is not yet fully awakened to his responsibility, but it is even more to be laid to the long ballot.[2] The long ballot is one of the great sources of the power of corrupt politics.

Non-partisan elections on local issues and candidates, where National party issues have no bearing, is one reform which has as yet made little headway, but which would do much to undermine the corrupt power of the great National political parties.

[2] See Your Vote for Democracy and Efficiency in the *Woman Citizen*.

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